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TSEKTSELS: A DISCUSSION OF PRAYER SEATS IN NORTHWESTERN CALIFORNIA

By

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Six Rivers National Forest
Eureka, California

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By Henry G. Wylie

ABSTRACT

Recent investigations in the Klamath Mountains of northwestern California have revealed a significant pattern of stone features apparently relating to Native American religious activities. Such prayer seats or "tsektsels," as they were called, have been used by specially endowed men and women for supernatural "power" quests in remote mountain settings. The preliminary archeological data are consistent with and compliment the ethnographic descriptions of such highland ritual use.

Introduction

"Tsektsel" is a Yurok term referring to a little-known class of ritual stone features used in public ceremonials and, more commonly, in private power quest experiences in the interior mountains of northwest California. Yet despite their crucial role in these important esoteric activities and their frequent reference in the ethnographic literature, little comprehensive study has been attempted. This may be largely due to a lack of on-the-ground data.

The following is a preliminary description and analysis of these phenomena from an archelogical perspective, being derived primarily from recent anthropological investigations directed by the U.S. Forest Service in the inventory and evaluation of cultural resources on the Six Rivers National Forest (Buckley 1976, Wylie 1972a, Wylie & Heffner 1976, Miller 1975). This analysis is concentrated in the mountainous area at the headwaters of the Blue Creek and Eightmile Creek sub-watersheds of the Klamath River, an area originally held by Tolowa, Yurok and Karok Indians.

Early in the course of these studies it became evident that the area contained high cultural significance pertaining to supernatural "power" quest experiences, and that such activities centered around the construction and use of special stone "seats" or enclosures. Specific effort was then made to identify these features on the ground and to organize the existing sources of information--oral histories, ethnographies, and linguistic studies from adjacent areas--to gain an understanding of their probable use and meaning. This information could eventually be used in the development of appropriate management and protective measures.

References to specific site locations are avoided here to preserve their integrity and privacy for contemporary Native American religious practitioners.

Ethnographic Descriptions

References to tsektsels in the literature, although brief and seldom specific to the study area, consistently describe them as small stone enclosures or low-curved walls just large enough for a single, seated individual.

> There is a tsektsel there - one of the seats or semi-circular rock walls where the woge [mythical prehumans] used to sit and think . . . This tsektsel is big enough to permit one to sit within it and stretch his legs in any direction (Spott & Kroeber 1942:160).

> Tsektseya or tsekwel is what the stone "seats" on mountains are called which prospective shamans frequent. They are semi-circular walls of unmortared stones, a yard or two across, three or four feet high (Kroeber 1976:381).

Tsektsels are also described as ". . . a U-shaped stone wall of dry stones . . ." (Kroeber & Gifford 1949:128) or as "prayer circles" [1] by local informants, the latter suggesting that some were fully enclosed and lacked an open end.

The term "altar" is also used, although less frequently, as shown by Theodora Kroeber's interesting account of one which was built for her by a Yurok friend, Robert Spott:

> He had finished smoothing and leveling a circle about ten feet in diameter on the rough hillside by our house, and building a wall of stone breast high to enclose the eastern or 'land' side of the circle . . . he . . . made sure that the seaward facing direction of the wall [i.e., the open side]. . . was as it should be for a tsektseya, or altar as one might call it . . . Used as a tsektseya, a person would sit within and against the encircling walls . . . looking towards the open sea. The Yurok have numbers of such structures in their own hills above the river. . . (T. Kroeber 1959:162163).

However, in view of the use for which this particular structure was intended--a combination outdoor fireplace/windbreak--it is fairly certain that its dimensions were made considerably larger than what would be expected traditionally.

It should also be noted that not all tsektsels were built of stone or even on solid ground. According to Buckley (1976:10), wooden scaffolding was used in some cases to build against the face of a cliff, stakes being driven into cracks in the rock walls and poles laid across these to form a sitting platform.

With the exception of those used by the Karok as a part of one of their World Renewal ceremonies (Kroeber & Gifford 1949), most tsektsels are a back-country feature, invariably described as being located on peaks, ridges and large rock outcrops high above the river villages. A high, remote setting was frequently essential to their use [2]. Besides solitude and privacy, other essential attributes apparently included an unrestricted view and a unique geological landscape with high aesthetic content (Buckley 1976: 12-17).

Most references to tsektsels in the ethnographic literature describe their utilization but not the circumstances surrounding their construction. The one exception to this, the seat connected with the Karok World Renewal ceremonies at Inam, ca. 1939, details a quite formalized process. Though it is not known whether similar ritual effort was expended in the construction of the simpler, personal mountain tsektsels, their rudimentary form argues against it. The Karok example, located just 20 miles northeast of the subject area, is quite illustrating. It suggests an involved symbolic significance for this act, and tight intergration with other segments of the religious system.

> The stone wall, U-shaped with the opening facing the sacred mountain Astexewa [Boulder Peak and Baldy Mountain] to the northwest of Clear Creek, is constructed at Imnanvaram on the [Klamath] river at the mouth of the creek just before the old moon disappears. Once the stones are piled, the pikiavish has to be given a month later, lest misfortune ensue. Each year the high water washes the wall away . . . The construction of this wall is call imnava. The man who piles the stones is not the priest, but another officiant, the imnanvan . . . Formerly, he was not paid; men were anxious to officiate for the good luck the service brought. The imnanvan must hold his breath from the time he picks up a stone until he puts it down, wishing for plenty of food, etc., as he does so. No

> one must watch him; people are supposed to move up Clear Creek where they cannot see the work. A man serving for the first time builds the wall until, kneeling, he can just view the mountain over the top of the pile; if a later service, he need pile only to his shoulders when kneeling. The width of the U is about six feet. As the imnanvan piles the stones, he prays for abundant food, for luck and health for his family and all the other families. He prays in a whisper, not loud enough for others to hear, and only when piling the cobbles. He starts to pile around 10 a.m. If a stone is dislodged, it must be discarded; it would be bad luck to use it again (Kroeber & Gifford 1949:11).

Ritual Use and Associated Physical Remains

Mountain tsektsels served as the primary physical foci for a broad but poorly understood range of ideological training activities centering around the native concept of "power" and its application to areas non-Indians would term "law," "medicine," and "religion." The three are actually a single, tightly integrated topic in traditional northwest California culture (Pilling 1969a:13; 1969b:11). Special men and women, usually of the aristocratic class, who sought legal-curative-religious advancement would visit these tsektsels to "make medicine" through the proper application of ritual activities.

Women who desired to become powerful curing shamans ("doctors") would come to the mountain tsektsels during the summer months to acquire special "telogel-pains," the physical manifestation of a doctor's power to diagnose and cure illnesses (Spott & Kroeber 1942:154, 158-163; Kroeber 1976:231).

After lengthy preparations at a lowland village and a long, arduous trek into the mountains, she would spend a number of days and nights dancing

near a fire and smoking tobacco, an activity usually reserved for men.

> . . . after she had her first pain it was still necessary for her to "go inland" (Helkau nusoton). This is like "passing an examination" or proving oneself . . . She went up the peak on which Wogel-otek is, but to another part of it on the south side called Tsektsel otek. It is so called because there is a tsektsel there . . . Well, Fanny went up there with her mother, who was also a doctor. She wore her maple-bark dress. She stood aside until her mother had cleaned out the seat and built a fire in front of it . . . Then Fanny stepped into the tsektsel and danced just as she had danced when first seeking power, stretching out her hands in all directions. All that night she did not stop dancing. Occasionally she shouted. When she danced more slowly she clapped her hands together . . . Her mother stayed behind, throwing the ashes from the fire aside, sweeping out the tsektsel . . . Fanny's old pipe she laid inside the tsektsel at the back. Then she slapped her pipe sack five times, poured tobacco into her hand, rubbed it with her other, and blew it off inland toward the mountains. Then she slapped the sack five times more and poured tobacco on the ground before the bowl of Fanny's abandoned pipe (ca. 1890 - Spott & Kroeber 1942:160-161).

Besides dancing and smoking, other activities included lengthy periods of fasting, fumigation over smoldering fires, singing, and praying (Drucker 1937:258; Olden 1923:41-42; Spott & Kroeber 1942:153-221). She was carefully watched by attendants to see that she did herself no harm during the exercise. These "guards", "singers" or "helpers", as they were called, usually included an older doctor, frequently her mother, or a male kinsman (Kroeber 1976:64; Kroeber 1925:64; Spott & Kroeber 1942:156, 160, 221; Drucker 1937:258; Olden 1923:41-42; Thompson 1916).

Information on the full range of male tsektsel use, while perhaps more common and of greater socio-religious significance, is less complete.

Instead of acquiring "pains" necessary for doctoring, men's objectives were related to the achievement of special status relative to the wealth quest and the important but poorly understood priesthood-aristocracy (Buckley 1975a, 1976). They might also train to be curing doctors ("Pe-girk-ka-gay") by praying for health, strength and success (Thompson 1916:43). On occasion, male tsektsel use may also have been connected with the ritual gathering of sweathouse wood (Kroeber 1976:381), as well as such activities as acquiring gambling luck and making "bad medicine."

The user's orientation within the seat and the construction of its opening may have differed according to gender or purpose. The decision of which way to face, although not clearly explained, may have been influenced by the immediate view, cardinal directions, and certain symbolic features of the landscape. Buckley (1976:13) has suggested that female users (curing shamans) might face the nearest source of water, such as the Klamath River, whereas a certain class of male users might face east in order to view the rising sun. Other significant orientations might be "inland" (east) [3] or towards the ocean (west), but apparently never north (Spott & Kroeber 1942:160; Kroeber 1959:162-163).

From these ethnographic details we can identify several types of physical remains which could be of use in interpreting possible tsektsel sites. These include the remnants of ritual fires, primarily, which may have been ritually "swept" after each use, tobacco pipes and perhaps inscribed stones and "ovens," as well as such perishable items as herbs, medicine bundles and tobacco pouches. Unfortunately, the exact nature of the "ovens" and inscribed stones is unclear at this time. Although

less common, self-mutilation activities by male users, called ki-pehego, may also have left special "jagged quartz" cutting implements (Kroeber 1976:381). Clearly, however, the most useful indicator of ritual activity would be the sacred tobacco pipes, the wooden stems of which would rot away, leaving only the stone bowl to be found inside the seat by subsequent visitors (see Spott & Kroeber 1952:220).

Archeological Data

During the course of archeolgical surveys (Wylie 1976a), a total of six possible tsektsels were recorded in the area between Doctor Rock and Elk Valley, a distance of about six miles. Other likely areas, some known to have contained similar evidence, were also examined, but the seats had apparently been dismantled by their owners (Buckley 1976:5-6). Physical remains of several other prayer seats have also been reported from peaks near the study area (Wylie & Heffner 1976; Wylie 1976b; Roberts n.d.).

Two of the newly discovered seats were within 30 feet of each other, but the remainder were isolated finds. Most were constructed directly atop a rocky prominence; the rest were either placed against a bedrock feature, such as a boulder, or located beneath an overhanging rock face. A summary of tsektsel locations and construction data is presented in Table 1.

As will be apparent from the following discussion, the design and location of these structures is actually much more varied than suggested in the ethnographic literature. What they do share, however, is a generally small size, simple construction, and affinity for prominent bedrock features having a clear view of their surroundings. (See Fig. 1). Orientations were found to range from northwest (clockwise) to southeast (magnetic), with emphasis on a generally eastward view.

Seat #1

This tsektsel is essentially a natural "step" in the bedrock, supplemented by 40-50 lichen-covered stones to form an irregular-shaped enclosure (Fig. 2). To the north and east is the cliff edge; to the south and west is the main portion of the summit, a 50-foot square area of broken bedrock covered with thick brush and boulders. When seated facing east --there is just enough room legs extended-- the back wall is head high, consisting largely of a natural 90° corner formed by two straight side-walls nearly two feet in height. The front wall, which is formed by a dozen or so loosely stacked stones, is no more than 18 inches high and closely follows the abrupt cliff edge.

The total effect is quite dramatic. Seated within the small but comfortable enclosure on the brink of the eastern face of the highest peak in the area, there is an unsurpassed view of the Marble Mountain wilderness area 30 miles away and, on a clear day, snow-capped Mt. Shasta, 80 miles distant. However, there is very little room for energetic exercises such as would be expected for female use. Thus, male use is implied.

The particular form of lichen on this tsektsel --a black flaky material-- is heaviest on the most exposed surfaces, and very similar in size and distribution to that found on the small cairn several feet to the southeast. Both of these stone features have the appearance of considerable age and permanence in this respect. Three other cairn features on this peak have little or no lichen.

The site currently receives moderate visitor use from hikers.

Seat #2

Seat #2 is situated at the base of the 30 foot overhanging rock face some 50 feet below and 20 feet south of seat #1. They are not visible to each other. To the west and northwest is the cliff face; to the east and south is steeply sloping rock rubble. Facing generally southeast, the seat consists of a triangular-shaped cleared space among the tallus boulders and bedrock slabs (Fig. 3). In this sense it is the reverse of the usual tsektsel; rocks have been removed to give it its form. The interior, which is fairly flat and rubble-free, lies about 2 feet lower than its surroundings. The overhanging rock face provides complete protection from the weather. The field of view from here is largely restricted to the distant Marble Mountains because of rock formations in the immediate foreground.

The remains of a very small, apparently recent fire can be seen 6 feet east-southeast from the center of the seat. There is no formal fireplace, just a natural space among the rocks containing ashes and a few charred sticks. Unused wood in 12-18 inch lengths is stacked nearby. The probability of this being a ritual feature --i.e., non-utilitarian-- related to traditional tsektsel use is high. Its small size and peculiar placement would have provided no appreciable light or warmth for a hiker waiting out a storm (nor is the seat large enough for a bivouac).

Seat #3

This site is a ridgetop rock outcrop which has broken into two large blocks of unequal size, leaving a large cavern-like crack between them. The fissure measures approximately 150 feet in length by 75 feet high and is 10 feet wide at its greatest point. About halfway down the eastern side of the larger segment and accessible through this "cave" is a narrow sloping ledge or pocket protected by a 20-30 foot overhang. Here, is a small, partially collapsed seat or platform of piled stones in an area of about three by five feet which, except for their unusual concentration in an area where falling stones could not collect, has an almost random appearance (Fig. 4). The shape of this apparent tsektsel is non-descript and seems to have been designed solely for the purpose of providing a relatively flat surface on an otherwise sloping rock ledge. Facing generally north, it commands a view from the northwest to the north-northeast, but is partially obscured by tall trees on the eastern side. The view is dominated by one of the highest peaks in this area, one which is commonly considered to have high supernatural significance.

One's position here is quite precarious; a slip would result in a fall of some 50-75 feet. To the west is the cliff face; to the east and north is steeply sloping bedrock.

The summit of this particular outcrop is large and fairly flat. Although access is difficult, it has been visited often by individuals who have left a pile of rocks inscribed with their names. The dates with these names range from 1925 to 1976. The locale is said to have been famous for the training of female doctors (Wylie & Heffner 1976), but evidence of other seats was not observed.

Seat #4

This site is one of two which are situated not on a peak or prominent outcrop but on the edge of a small meadow. To the northeast is open meadow; to the west is steeply sloping and broken bedrock. The seat is a three-sided subrectangular affair constructed against the northeastern edge of a large boulder (Fig. 5). The boulder makes up the fourth side of the tsektsel, and its top edge has a natural seat-shaped semicircular depression.

The orientation is atypical. Numerous other spots around this meadow could have provided an expansive and inspiring view down the valley. However, this one seems to have been selected to give a view into the meadow itself, a view of a single majestic cedar and an adjacent spring. The area surrounding the seat is flat and generally free of brush, well suited for dancing and other energetic ritual activities.

Associated remains include possible charred organic remains and sticks inside the enclosure, and two stones balanced on the boulder on either side of the seat-shaped depression. However, the significance of these items is unclear.

It should also be noted that despite its presently remote setting, the Boundary Trail once passed within a hundred feet of this site, and it is possible that the tsektsel may somehow be related to its use. However, the probability of Anglo origins and possible uses cannot be gauged except to note that its small interior size would preclude its use as a bivouac. If this trail's origins are aboriginal, which is likely, then this feature could have served as a resting place for Indian travelers.

> All main trails had definite resting places, often marked by stones or seats, and selected either because of the attractiveness of the spot or on account of the completion of an ascent (Kroeber 1976:334, emphasis added).

Although there is no appreciable ascent along this section of the trail, the meadow could make a very attractive rest stop and there is a refreshing spring not more than 50 feet away.

It is possible, however, that "resting" and "ritual" uses of tsektsels were not mutually exlcusive (cf. Kroeber 1976:380-381).

Seat #5

Seat #5 is situated in a small meadow, against the northwest flank of a brush-covered, 20 foot high prominence. Because of the abundance of

natural stone here it is very difficult to recognize this small, U-shaped tsektsel (Fig. 6) and it passed unnoticed on several previous occasions until mentioned by Buckley (personal communication). To the northwest is a small meadow; to the southeast is a semi-permanent stream; and to the east is the apex of the rocky outcrop.

Although by construction it is only a short curved section of wall, since it is built against the steeply sloping hillside, the seat gives the impression of being completely enclosed. Thus, the user, with his/her back to the hill, may have actually looked out over the curve of the "U", in reverse of the usual orientation.

As with seat #5, the line of sight is short and terminates within the adjacent meadow to the northwest. Here, the most obvious feature is not a tree but a flat, naturally barren area. It must be emphasized that in this region, with its typically steep, wooded slopes, an area such as this is very rare and may have held considerable significance to Native Americans, especially if dancing was a requisite use.

Seat #6

Seat #6 is located atop a broad flat rock outcrop on a small unnamed hill, which drops off abruptly on the northwest side and falls gradually to the east in a series of steps, ending in an impressive vertical rock face. At the bottom of this cliff is a small meadow littered with large boulders.

The tsektsel is U-shaped and unmistakable, sitting on bare bedrock (Fig. 7). To the south and west is a sharp drop-off of 20 to 50 feet; to the north is a flat 25 by 25 foot bedrock surface littered with large boulders and low brush. Flat, exposed bedrock is more extensive here than at any other tsektsel site. As with other seats, the individual rocks are very loosely piled, almost as though a careful, systematic arrangement was purposefully avoided. Flat pieces, which perhaps could have been more effectively used horizontally, were frequently placed on end, thus adding to the overall jumbled appearance. Very few stones are stacked more than two or three high and most of these were concentrated in the rear of the seat, the bottom of the "U". Only a few stones form the open ends.

There are 40-50 additional loose stones scattered over an area of six by eight feet immediately northwest of the seat. None appear to form any particular pattern and very few are stacked. Since these are obviously not natural and approximately the same size as those used in the seat, they may represent the remains of earlier tsektsels.

Sitting inside with back against the curve of the seat, one has an expansive view of the upper Dillon Creek drainage, an affluent of the Klamath River, and in the far distance the Marble Mountains. The meadow directly below is not visible.

Interestingly, lichen growth here is concentrated only on the southern edge of the seat and adjacent portions of the cliff edge and face,

diminishing rapidly in all directions. Other parts of the seat, natural bedrock and scattered stones have little or no lichen cover. Although the weathering of exposed stone surfaces is quite pronounced throughout, this darkening is dramatically absent on those parts of the bedrock covered by the tsektsel, suggesting considerable antiquity for this feature.

Future Research

Although the preliminary archeological data are quite consistent with and compliment the ethnographic literature, we presently have only the "bare bones" of this phenomenon. Since much more work will be needed to flesh out the details of tsektsels use, the following questions are offered as a base for future research designs in this area:

1. What are the origins of tsektsels? Are they derived from pre-Yurok, pre-Karok hunting blinds? Perhaps the local U-shaped glacial cirques contributed to the selection of this form, as Buckley has suggested (Buckley 1976:16).

2. Can the date of construction or abandonment of a tsektsel be calculated through lichenometry? If the growth rate for the local lichen is not time-regular, can a rough minimum-age estimate be made based on the time necessary to establish lichen growth on fresh, undisturbed surfaces? (A period of 70-100+ years is suggested by USFS range management data.) It is possible that local historic structures of known age --mining monuments, fence lines, etc.--

could be used to accurately determine the establishment time and/or growth rates for local lichen types (cf. Carrara & Andrews 1973; Denton & Karlen 1973).

3. The essential conditions of tsektsel locations and use appear to have been altitude (peaks, high places), solitude/quiet, remoteness, unobstructed view, aesthetic beauty, and a close physical association with prominent or unusual geologic (bedrock) features. Are these attributes unique to the subject area? Or are they universal to all tsektsels in northwest California?

4. Are tsektsels limited to and diagnostic of the northwestern California ("Lower Klamath") culture area? Could they be considered one of the hallmarks of this region along with its distinctive stratified society, fishing economy, plank houses, sweathouses, and wealth quest?

5. As the most obvious physical manifestations of power quest experiences, what do tsektsels indicate about intra and inter-cultural behavior of the Karok, Yurok, and perhaps Tolowa? (cf. Bean 1975.)

6. Are there structures similar to tsektsels in size, shape and location, such as hunting blinds, sleeping circles or resting seats, with which they might be mistaken? If so, how can these be told apart?

7. Is it possible to distinguish the age of a tsektsel or the cultural affiliation of its user on the basis of typology?

For Example:

Working Hypothesis #1 - Small-sized tsektsels, especially thcse built on very precarious positions on cliff edges, and east-facing tsektsels represent male use, as their's was a solitary, essentially meditative use possibly directed towards the rising sun.

Working Hypothesis #2 - Large-sized seats, those adjacent to a convenient dancing area, or oriented towards water sources represent female use.

8. Although originally used by both men and women, why does their use today appear to be limited to male practitioners?

9. What is the relationship of the term acwe.gin ("prayer place") to tsektsel ("seat")?

Concluding Summary

1. Prayer seats, or "tsektsels", were used by special Yurok, Karok and perhaps Tolowa men and women for personal supernatural "power" quests usually in remote mountain settings.

2. Preliminary archeological investigations have verified the extensive use of these features consistent with ethnographic descriptions.

3. Six possible seats were identified on the ground, typically on high peaks or prominent rock outcrops with unobstructed views. Others have been reported in similar settings from neighboring areas.

4. The average recorded tsektsel has an interior space of approximately 8-10 square feet (ca., 3.5' x 3.5'), consisting of 50 to 100 stones stacked loosely no more than 24 inches high. This is somewhat smaller than ethnographic descriptions. Their shapes vary widely --subrectangular, circular, U-shaped, or amorphous-- depending on the local bedrock surface conditions.

5. Tsektsels are occasionally associated with small rock cairns and the remains of ritual fires. Although sacred tobacco pipes were anticipated, none have been observed at any of the sites.

6. The most common orientation was generally eastward; none were found facing in a southerly or westerly direction.

7. On purely subjective grounds, while some seats had the appearance of considerable age (100 + years), others seem to have been used quite recently, perhaps within the past 2-10 years. However, no radiocarbon or lichenometric evaluations have been attempted.

8. As expected, evidence of secular aboriginal activities in the study area were minimal (cf. Chartkoff & Chartkoff 1975). Only two small flaking stations, both of which were on prominences, and a single small hunting camp were discovered in this vicinity.

NOTES

1. Buckley is of the opinion that the Yurok terms for "prayer circle" and "altar" are distinct from tsektsel (Buckley 1977).

2. The coastal Yurok groups, whose immediate territory included few high, craggy peaks, also had "prayer seats" near the mouth of the Klamath River (Buckley 1977). However, what these locales lacked in dramatic exoteric character they probably more than made up for with special esoteric significance.

3. One of Buckley's informants translated the name for God as "early morning rising brightness", which substantiates other accounts of the importance of facing east at dawn in order to "see the face of Creation" (Buckley 1977).

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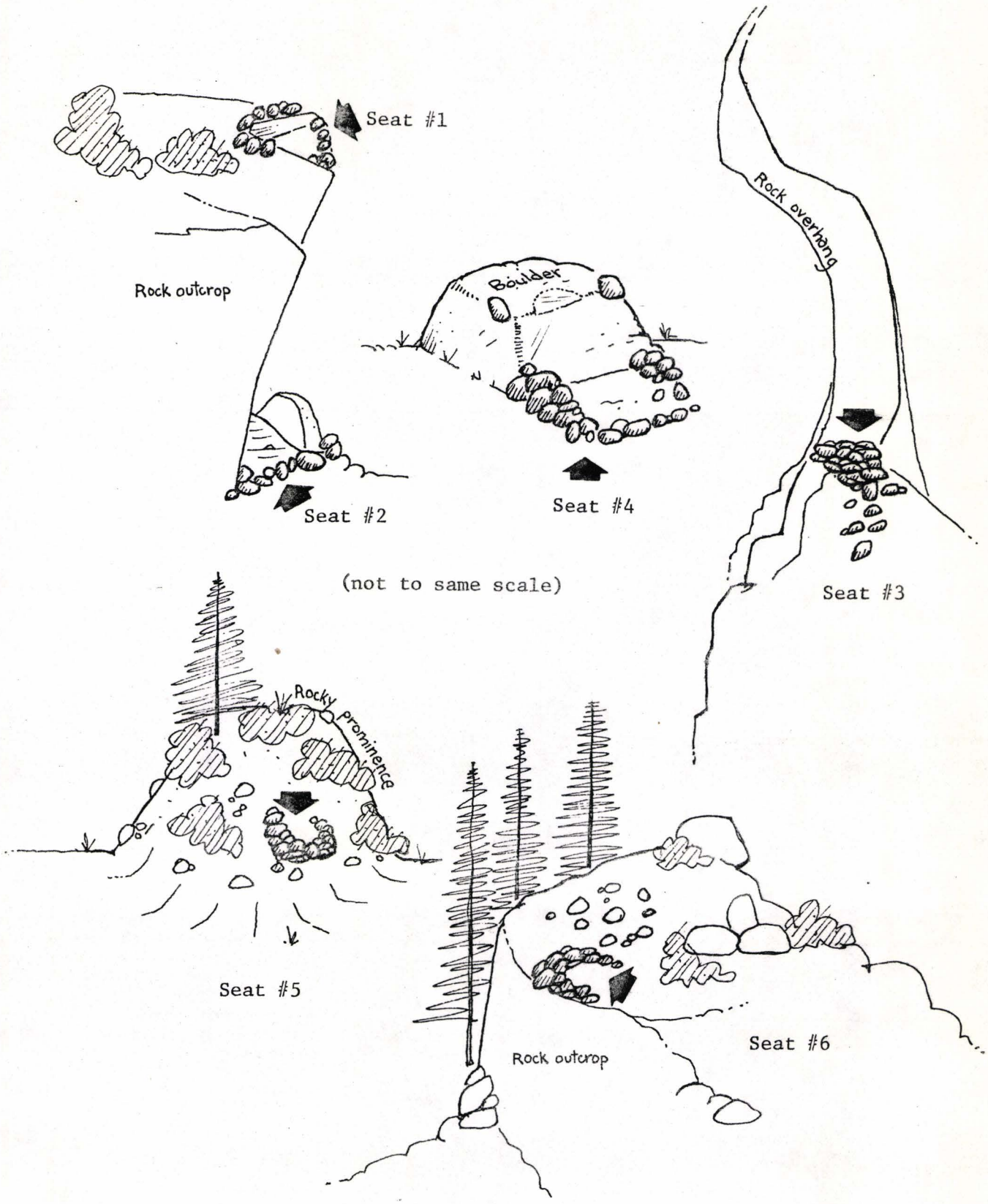
Table 1. Summary of Tsektsel Data

Seat No.	USFS* Site No.	Location Macro/Micro	Elevation	Design	Size (ft.) Internal	Size (ft.) External	Aspect	No.** Stones	Max. Wall Height	Assoc. Items	Comments
1	52-7	peak/summit	5727'	circle	3½x3½	4x5	E	40-50	24"	Cairn	3 other cairns and another tsektsel nearby
2	52-7	peak/rock overhang	5700'	irregular clearing	6x3½	N.A.	SE	N.A.	N.A.	fire and firewood	cleared space among rubble and bedrock
3	52-8	outcrop/ rock overhang	4930'	platform	5x3		NE	50-100	12"	-	25% collapsed. Built on sloping ledge
4	51-3	meadow/ boulder	4920'	3-sided sub-rectangular	3½x4	6x7	NE	50	12"	sticks and burned materials	Built against 3' boulder
5	52-1	meadow/ outcrop	4600'	U-shaped	2½x3	5x6	NW	50-75	18"	stick	Natural bedrock makes this a full enclosure
6	52-11	outcrop summit	4980'	U-shaped	2x3	6x6	ESE	60	18"	collapsed tsektsel?	

*Prefixed by "05-10-...".

**Approximate only. Exact figure not possible without dismantling structures.

Fig. 1. Schematic views of tsektsel configurations and their immediate surroundings.



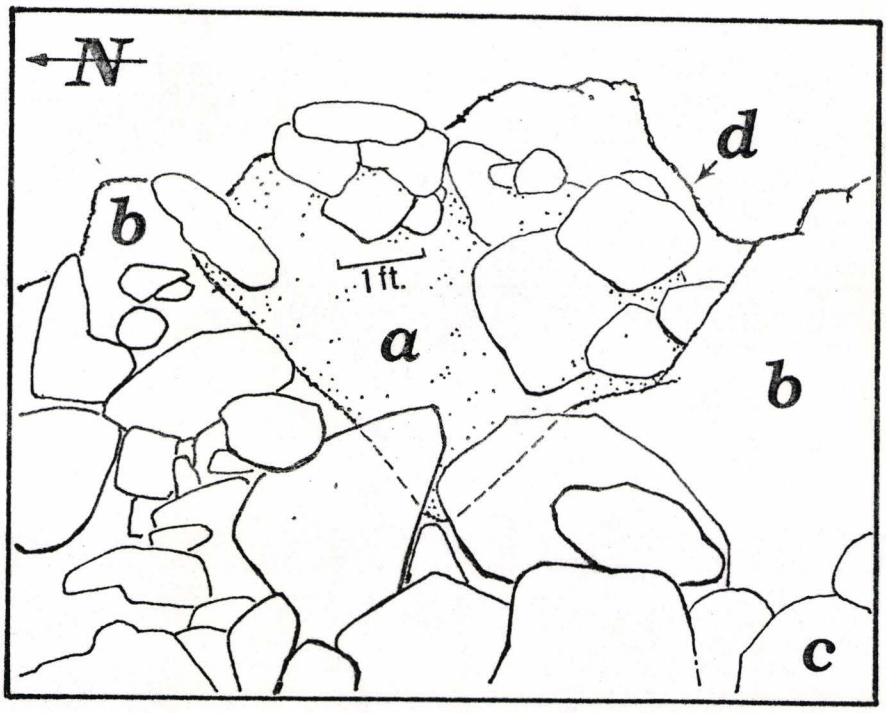


Fig. 2. Seat #1, view east. a, interior space; b, bedrock; c, edge of adjacent cairn; d, edge of outcrop.

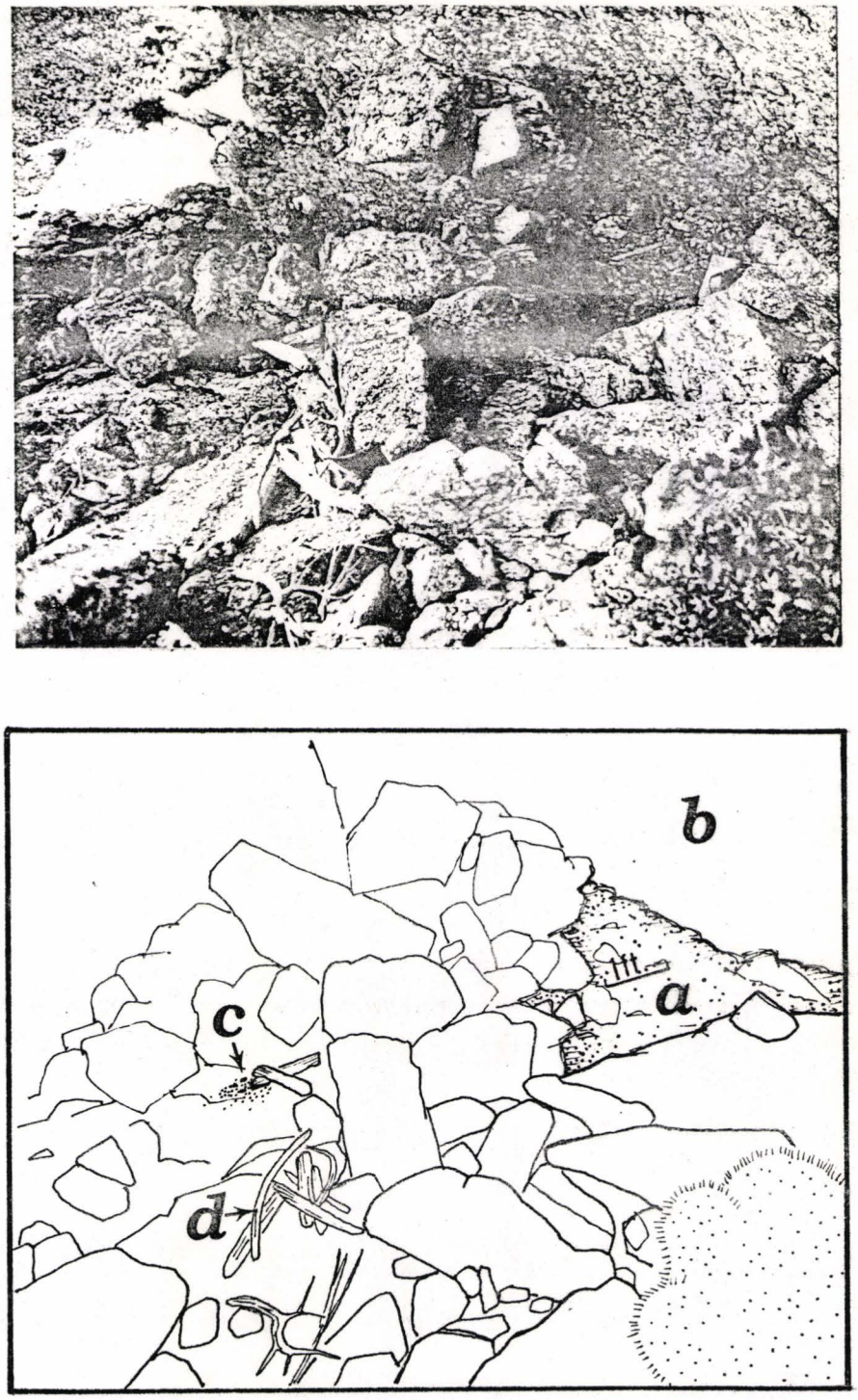


Fig. 3. Seat #2, view south. a, interior space; b, bedrock overhang; c, remains of fire; d, firewood.

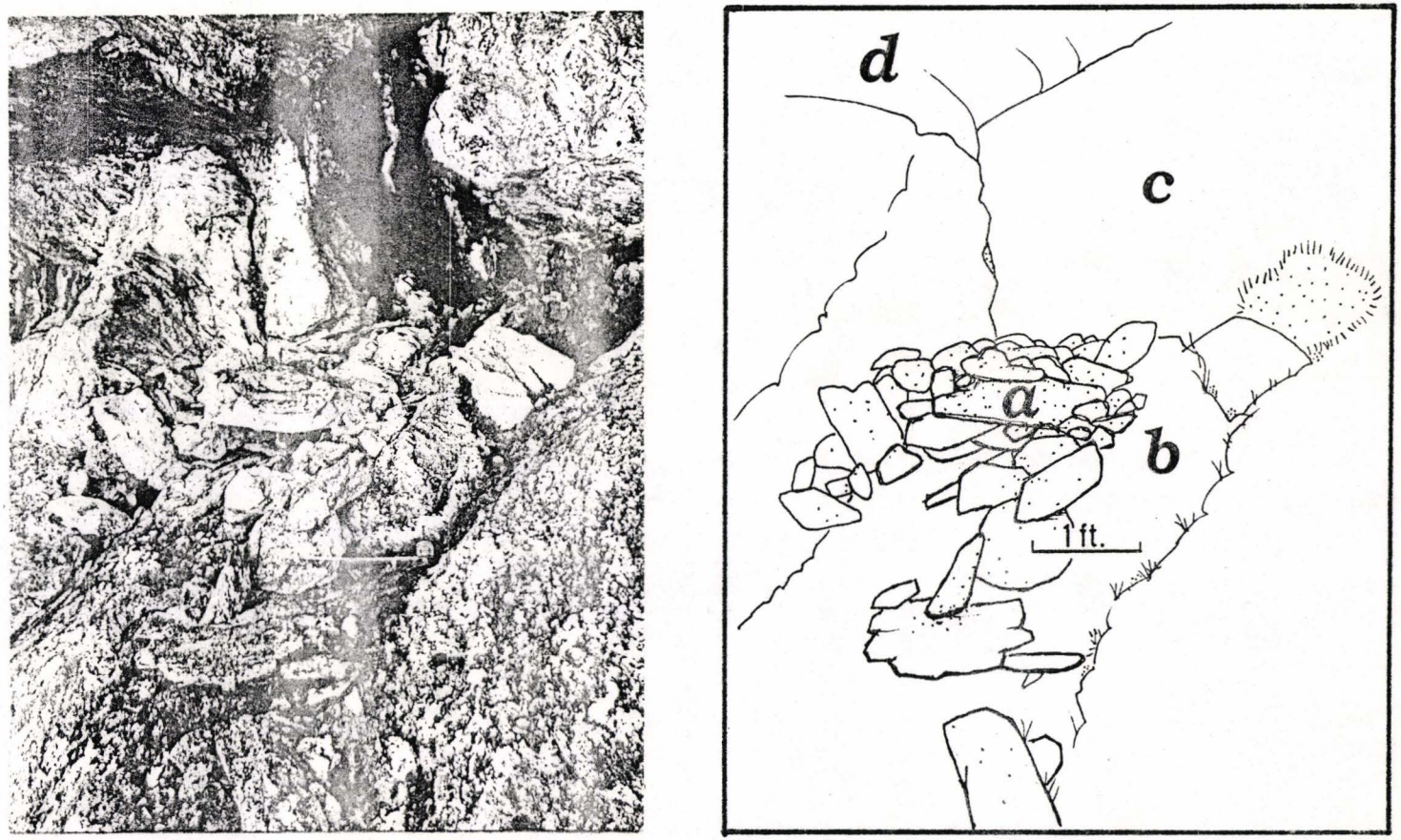


Fig. 4. Seat #3, view south. a, seat-platform; b, ledge; c, bedrock wall; d, bedrock overhang.

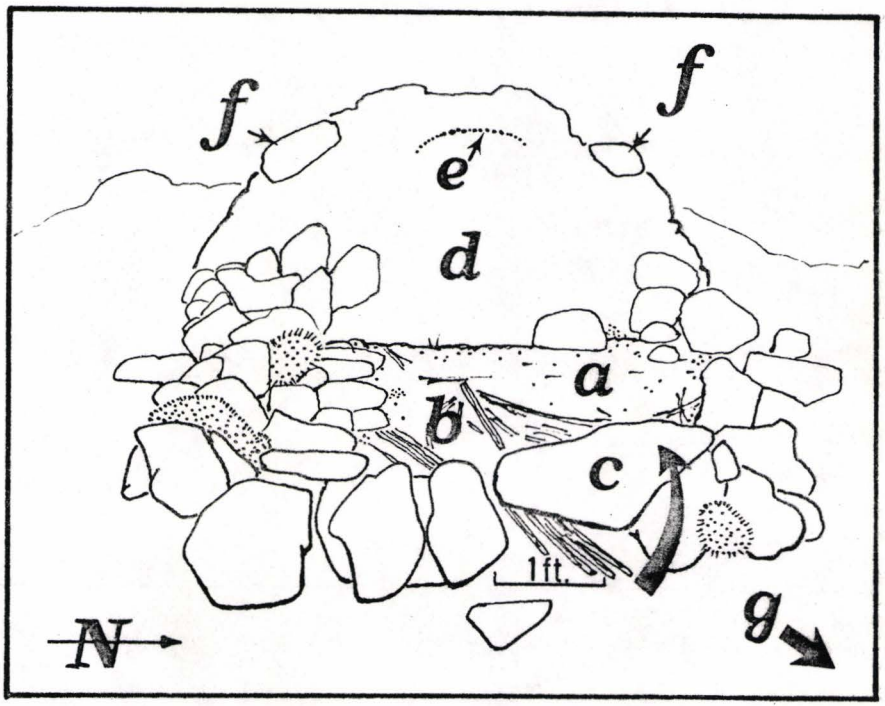


Fig. 5. Seat #4, view west. a, interior space; b, wood fragments; c, rock tilted on edge to show wood fragments beneath; d, boulder; e, natural seat-shaped depression; f, balanced rocks.

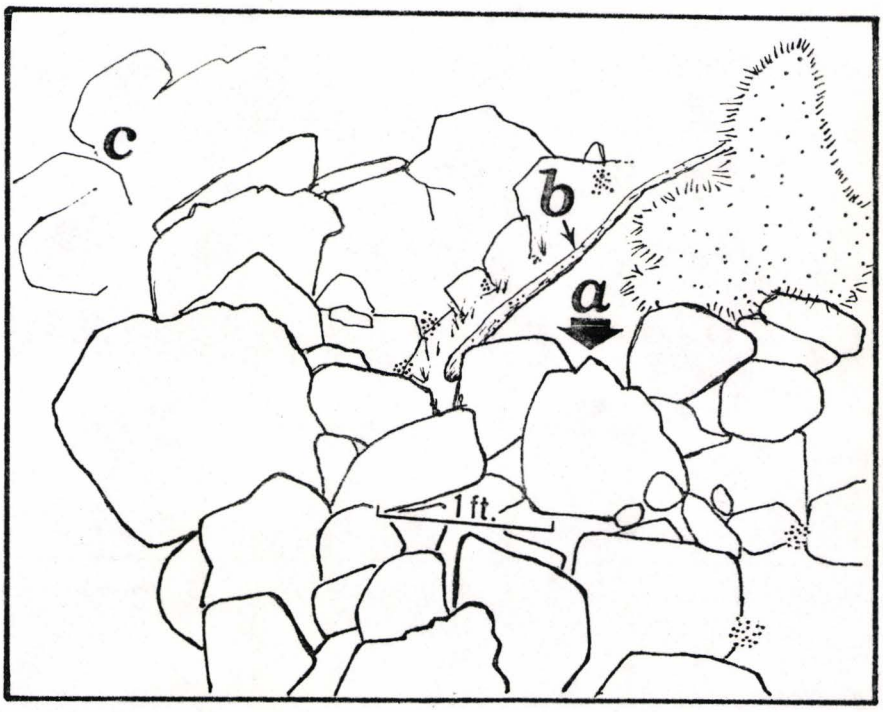


Fig. 6. Seat #5, view south-southeast. a, interior space; b, cut branch; d, natural bedrock boulders.

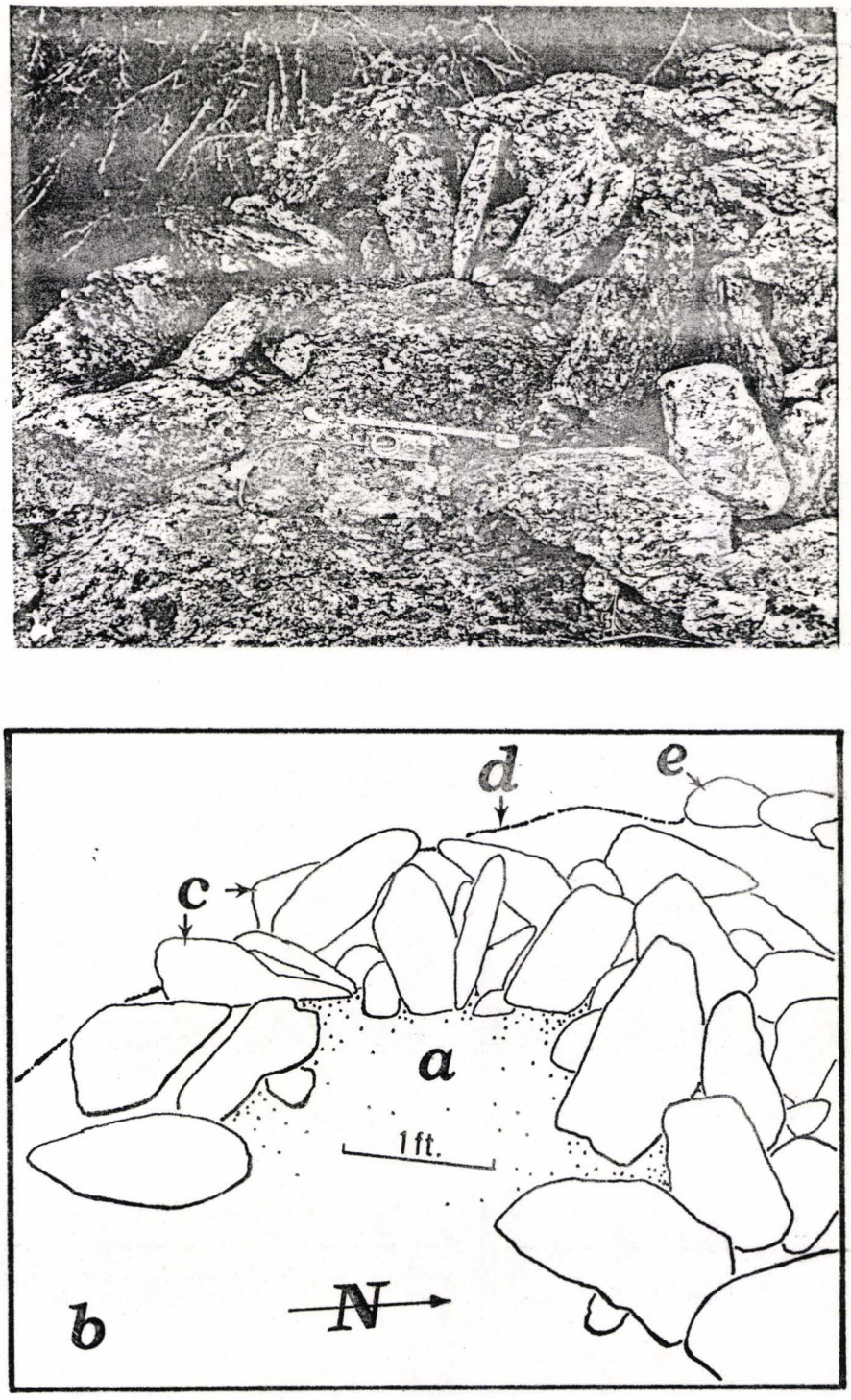


Fig. 7. Seat #6, view west. a, interior space; b, bedrock; c, areas of concentrated lichen growth; d, edge of outcrop; e, possible collapsed tsektsel.